

COLLECTION OF ADDRESSES BY FOREIGN MINISTER  
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The great spirit, which is originally the tradition of our country since the foundation of the state, is HAKKO ICHIU, namely to promulgate the moral principles over the world and to let the whole nation be placed in their right post and it is needless to say that the imperial diplomacy fundamentally has to play an important role in spreading this great spirit all over the world and towards the accomplishment of the holy task of realizing this grand ideal on the earth. However, considering the present situation of our country, as an actual problem of foreign policy, there are such constantly important problems before our eyes as how we should maintain the Japanese population which is remarkably increasing annually and how we should heighten the level of our national wealth which is strikingly lower in comparison with those of the two European and American powers, the British Empire and America. In order to solve these problems, the government has been trying for many years to develop our people in foreign countries by means of foreign trade, emigration and oversea enterprise. But the various countries in Europe and America have been and are actually disturbing JAPAN by means of the prohibition or the limitation of her emigration and the levy of high custom duty upon the Japanese commodities and every other measure.

The MANCHURIAN Incident was an exaltation of the National spirit; but in a way, we can say that it was an explosion caused by the oppression of the peaceful development of JAPAN by the Europe and American powers.

"I have, in fact, observed minutely the trend of the world and chiefly the relation between JAPAN and CHINA and the trends of the both countries in East Asia, etc., and come to a view long since, by which I have been more firmly impressed with the outbreak of the CHINA Incident. The present CHINA Incident differs fundamentally in its nature from such wars as caused by the Kings' ambition or simply the material desire, and a traditional or a sudden feeling and dispute or by the utilitarian conflict between the capitalistic countries. That is to say, the fundamental cause of the Sino-Japanese conflicts was ideological. There may be, of course, many other causes of secondary, thirdly importance, but, after all, its fundamental ought to be understood well by everyone of us as the dispute of ideology. I have been trying these several years to persuade some persons about this matter. It is that we have been strongly holding such an ideology as our empire should settle the situation throughout East Asia by our harmonious cooperation with CHINA to the East."

"In short, JAPAN has no intention to annex the territory and conquer or exploit the nation in this zone as Europe and America did. On the contrary, JAPAN will liberate the native from the pressure of the Imperialism and treat them as a brother in place of a slave and have relations of interdependence with them. Our Empire intended to carry out such policies neither for reasons of our constraint for other countries nor our judgment of these as the prudent measures in

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view of the present circumstances of the world, but only for reasons of our fear for a God. The fact that our country is a divine country means, in a way, that there will be the grace of Heaven when our country will go forward in accordance with the divine will and if we act against it we'll be punished by Heaven. Consequently, in executing our national diplomatic policy, the fact that Japan is a divine country must be considered."

"Our future is really of much difficulties. I think our country must, first of all, make every effort to establish a strong armed country, unifying 100 million people in one and at the same time to have the closer economic relations in the Great East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. The fact that the Minister of Commerce and Industry KOBAYASHI, a special envoy to Dutch Indies, is now negotiating, relates to this meaning and the fact that a special envoy is going to be sent also to French Indo-China, tells us the same purpose, and we should like to make the cooperation with Siam and others more firm. By the way, I must add a word about this treaty; it is how shall we deal with our Russian relation."

#### Looking Back at the Establishment of MANCHUKUO

I have an honor to give my expressions today at the eighth anniversary of the recognition of MANCHUKUO.

MANCHURIA might be called as my second native place and I shall be related to MANCHURIA and MONGOLIA five times, if I count my journey to Geneva in 1932 in connection with the MANCHURIAN Incident in addition to my four times stay in MANCHURIA since my first step to MANCHURIA as a twenty seven years old young official over thirty years ago until I left the post of the President of the Manchurian Railway Co. last year. It seems as if belonged to a quite different age when we compare today's MANCHUKUO with MANCHURIA and MONGOLIA before the Incident. There has never been such a country in the world history, which has made so rapid progress only in eight years. Recalling the condition of MANCHURIA and MONGOLIA just before the Incident, it was really out of description. The rights and interests we gained at the sacrifice of 100 thousand lives and two billion national funds during both wars of the Sino Japanese and the Russo-Japanese, have mostly come to be on the brink of ruin at last in the cause of both obstructions by certain European and American countries and the conspiracies and devices by China and Chang's family and our weak-kneed diplomacy. The fact that our people had by and by forgotten or become indifferent to the actuality that we had paid dearly and that MANCHURIA and MONGOLIA were essential to the existence of our country, that is to say, they were our life line and furthermore had a great importance to the whole situation of East Asia, should be one of the reasons that such a pitiful circumstances have been brought about. While the Chinese became wild with excitement at the withdrawal of the South Manchurian Railway and the Port Arthur and Dairen, there were such persons even among the famous politicians as

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advocated boldly the abandonment of MANCHURIA and MONGOLIA as if in cooperation with the Chinese. The Chinese side, growing imprudent day by day, and paying no attention to our frequent protests as well as the regulations of the treaty, constructed a parallel line to the MANCHURIAN Railway and planned even the outflanking line at last and projected to strike out our position, rights and interests in MANCHURIA and MONGOLIA together with the MANCHURIAN Railway Company. What we answered against these reckless attempts at that time was nothing but the repeat of the verbal protests. Hereupon, she became imprudent more and more and tried to drive the Japanese out of the earth of MANCHURIA and MONGOLIA at one effort. Our people, however, were still more indifferent and the government, which might have had a serious illusion, behaved with deference and showed even a flattery. This indifferent and spiritless attitude of our government and the people caused her to grow the anti-Japan up to the insult for the Japanese and there happened at last such deplorable events as the MANPAOSHAN Event of 1931 and Captain NAKAMURA's Slaughter Event. But the government authorities at that time maintained their calmness yet and seemed not to be surprised at all. They, of course, took it the most rustic to get angry and were cool-headed, but our 200 thousand inhabitants and the Imperial Army there could not stand any more. Then, the MANCHURIAN Incident broke out as it should naturally. Our national blood stirred up. Recalling it now, one blow at RYUJOKO was itself the positive counter-attack and exaltation of the Japanese spirit and awakened the Japanese people from their long sleep and made the revival of the Japanese spirit and started them for the display of the true nature of the Imperial Japan, I believe. Otherwise, who would now have controlled MANCHURIA and MONGOLIA? Nay, where should JAPAN have fallen down now? I'm struck with terror when I imagine such a matter. China brought an action to the League of Nations. There were a considerable number of persons in the government and the people at that time who embraced the League Supremacy Principle or rather feared it in their hearts than respected. The League tried to control Japan to their best and dispatched the famous Lytton Investigation Committee to the Far East and treated Japan as if a defendant. Both the Japanese government and the people did not even refuse the committee and its party to proceed majestically, as if the former were, I wonder, insensible or afraid of the latter in their hearts. You cannot have forgotten the spiritless face of Japan at that time. How would it have been if it were today? I think they would not have come with such an overbearing faces as betrays: "I'll pass judgment on your quarrel and even if not so we would refuse it away." Thinking thus, we are struck with wonder at the change of times. Our people must not forget the timid and poor-looking figure of our country in those days, looking up to the gracious and splendid Imperial Japan of today. If you will be fallen in amnesia, you will have an awful experience again as before. They attempted to record MANCHURIA and MONGOLIA, on which they had never shed a drop of blood or never touched a finger, on the Lytton Reports and to place them under the international administration in accordance with their advice. I believe that there has never been in the history of the human race such previous instance as the nonsensical, ridiculous and



audacious conspiracy was projected to be forced on a large country. But, viewing from the situation at that time, it is a question whether they were wrong or Japan was wrong who caused herself such unreasonable attitude or an insult. I think the attitude or the intention of the government and the people at that time should be partly responsible for it.

The revived Japanese spirit has become clearer day by day and refused at last such devices and advices. That is to say, the 24th day in February of 1931, together with the 18th in September of 1929, is the memorial day which ought not to be forgotten by the YAMATO race. The revival of the Japanese spirit which started with the one stroke at RYUJOKO was achieved with the action of the secession from the League of Nations. The 24th day in February of 1931, when the Imperial Japan challenged bravely the hypocrisy, which is a characteristic of the present civilization, will remain long recorded in the history of the world. This is the day on which Japan set the world on the road to the establishment of a true and real peace of the world and Japan, on that day, gave a final blow to the false organization of status quo. In those days I stated, in my farewell address, that one who would be injured by imprudent action (the decision of the nineteen committee meeting) is not Japan, but the League of Nations, but I wonder where the League is now and what it is doing. Then, the Imperial Japan and the Japanese Spirit that started on the course of the revival has been advancing forward speedily since then. Japan has been thrown in a serious situation through her dash after dash in these nine years as well as the world. It is just like a dream. There have been so many changes. I can't help being surprised at the very splendid feature of Japan when we think of the poor-looking and spiritless Japan of just nine years ago. It is far more than to say that it belongs to the different age. For us who have had some knowledge about MANCHURIA and MONGOLIA these over thirty years and see today's MANCHUKUO which was born just eight years ago, it is rather surprising and dreamy matter. I have always insisted that MANCHURIA and MONGOLIA is the key to stabilize the whole situation of East Asia, and even now I still believe it firmly. As to the continental policy, the base of our holy task, which is to be realized in Asia, lies still in MANCHURIA and MONGOLIA and this base will not probably be changed for about a half century. The work of the establishment of MANCHUKUO is the first step of the Reconstruction of the New Order in East Asia and at the same time was the herald of the construction of the World New Order and its position in the world history should be said to be very important. The true significance of the MANCHURIAN Incident will be realized for the first time when the reconstruction of the New Order in East Asia will be accomplished, for which we are now making every endeavor. All changes in East Asia since the MANCHURIAN Incident until now are, that is to say, to be incorporated in one and the true meaning of the MANCHURIAN Incident and the establishment of MANCHUKUO will become clear at the time when the CHINA Incident will be fundamentally settled, and also the reconstruction of the New Order in East Asia is indivisible from the arrangement of the domestic affairs. Even if we dream of the reconstruction of

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new order in East Asia, or moreover throughout the world, while maintaining the status quo in the internal affairs, this attempt is impracticable. I believe firmly that the new order of East Asia, nay, of the world, will be established only when our country will establish the political organization assisted by the whole nation and based upon this really gracious national policy, and will assume exhaustively the actually Japanized totalitarianism meaning that "all the people should be united to the Emperor with hearty gladness and faithfulness" and will carry out the diplomatic policies originated in the Imperial way. When we in this emergency of today, think of the significance of MANCHUKUO again and recall the circumstances before and after the foundation, and moreover bring to mind the future of the mankind in trouble in looking straight at the unprecedented stir and the confusion of the world, we who are the people of East Asia, can't help being stirred up. We must be determined to devote ourselves in overcoming the difficulties under the strong conviction of "The Light from the East" and "The New Order By Us."